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**Author:** Leonard Ogierman

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## PHENOMENON OF PRO PATRIA PAPER EXPANSION

In the history of European paper industry there were periods when its development was followed by its fall which was the reason why it improved somewhere else. Studying the paper, we can find the manufacturer and date of its creation so we can know its quality. Traditionally, Italian paper was regarded as the one of high quality. That is why Italian watermarks were very interesting for researchers.

At the beginning of the paper industry the most popular were paper products from the mills in Fabriano, Bologna, Lucca and Genoa. The most common watermarks appearing at that time were the animals: bulls, dogs, and eagles. Later, the anchor, the top of the mountain, sometimes with the dove (Bayley, 1912, p. 39). The paper also had watermarks with coat of arms of the families and the cardinal hat. In Padua a sign with three hats and a slender eagle was used. The peacock in an oval with a spread tail was a special Italian sign.

However, in the seventeenth century, Genoa remained the most important center of paper production. In Genoa the rules of paper designing were similar to those practiced in other European countries. The most popular filigree of Genoa are three circles with a crown or cross at the top or a Genoese coat of arms with griffins holding the shield. These marks were especially used on paper exported to Spain. Royal crests were also exported to particular places. (Labarre, Loeber, 1952, pp. 340-342).

Large portions of Italian paper were also delivered to England in the seventeenth century, and in the eighteenth century most of them came from the Netherlands (Churchill, 1967, p. 5).

The capture of Antwerp, which in the sixteenth century was a great paper center, by the Austrian forces, made the sellers of paper from the north settle down in the Netherlands. The first information about the

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<sup>1</sup> Instytut Bibliotekoznawstwa i Informacji Naukowej, Uniwersytet Śląski w Katowicach.

national paper production in the Netherlands was found in a decree of 1586, signed by Robert Dudley, hr. Leicestera (1532-1588).<sup>2</sup>

He gave Hans van Aelst and Jan Luipart the right to make paper near Utrecht. After the invasion of Louis XIV in Guerdeland, the paper mills of the province were transported to Zaan County near Amsterdam where Dutch paper industry became the world potentate.

According to J.H. Stoppelaar (1826-1908) - the oldest document found in Dutch archives is in Hague and it dates back to 1346. The author in the monograph of on old paper in the Netherlands (Stoppelaar, 1869) presents 271 pictures of watermarks. Most of them can be found in the Briquet catalog (Briquet, 2000).

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Netherlands imported printing and letterhead paper from Germany, France, Switzerland and Genoa because in the country good quality paper was not produced. The center of paper distribution to the Dutch market were Antwerp, Basel and Cologne. The rise in prices made the brokers move to Angoumois County in western France, where the paper was made to the Dutch market.

At first, producers labelled their products with well-known, mainly French signs, but later they began to copy Dutch signs with French boxers. At that time, the world paper distribution market in Amsterdam developed and Amsterdam's coat of arms became a filigree for the Pope. It is believed that this first Dutch watermark was made in France and we only know the first letters of its manufacturer's name (IM). Since then, the paper with various variants of filigree with the coat of arms of Amsterdam was first produced in French and then in Dutch mills. The export of paper to England and other countries from Amsterdam took place at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Amsterdam's success as a global paper distributor provoked objections in France. The French government did its best to protect the national industry from Dutch rivalry. The problem was that Angoumois County, which was the largest paper producer in France, was influenced by foreign, mostly Dutch finance. The paper millers and their employees were mostly Protestants or Huguenots, and as a result of the revocation of the Nantes Edict (1685), a lot of them emigrated to England and the Netherlands. Protestant Dutch merchants were made resign from doing business in France. This situation, however, had a feedback effect on the French paper industry because in the Netherlands the papermaking industry was focused with the help of qualified French immigrants. By 1685, the Dutch

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<sup>2</sup> When Netherlands were invaded by Spain and Austria, it was unable to fight alone for the Netherlands, so they offered Dutch sovereignty to Queen Elizabeth, who in fact did not accept it, but sent the armed Leicester forces to help. Leicester was the general governor of the kingdom and therefore he had the privilege of signing state documents.



**Fig. 1.** Jeana Villedar's filigree from the paper found in Province Archive in Katowice. Source: Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach

were mainly brokers in paper trade. Since then, they have also become producers supplying both France and Italy with the best paper.

Although the highest standard of paper quality was achieved in the Netherlands at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the quality requirements for Dutch paper increased in many European countries, most of the books published in the Netherlands were printed on French paper. In the eighteenth century the Netherlands imported French printing paper from Bordeaux, La Rochelle, St. Louis. Malo and Morlaix.

The first Dutch mill was founded in 1665 by Pieter van der Ley of Zaandyk, and his filigree can be found in prints from the Netherlands and England. This company was run for over 100 years. The following famous mills were: Honighs, van Gerrevinks, Villedary, Blauw & Briel, Kool, Rogge, Pannekoek and Cramer & Co. In the filigree of papers produced by these companies, we can find evidence that most of the output was produced for the English market. They contain Dutch signs with royal monograms of William III, Anne and Georges. They also contain the British sign, the coat of arms of England and London and the names of Dutch mills, with the addition of surnames of English traders and paperwork (Gonnet, 1920, p. 746-761; Honig, 1921, p. 231-234).

At the end of the seventeenth century, about 150 French paper manufactures produced paper for the Dutch market, using various watermarks,

initials and scribbles. One of them was Jean Viledary. His name or initials existed as a watermark for 150 years. His initials (IV) are in filigree in public archives and English and Dutch libraries. There are also papers with such names and filigree as Lubertus van Gerrevink, C & I. Honig, Adrian Rogge and Van der Ley. It is not known whether Villedary cooperated with other Dutch papers or whether they used his initials because of the high quality of the product.

Each French paper mill had a specific organizational structure. The mill had its owner, then the paper miller, the workers whose number was variable depending on whether the mill had one or two vats. This gives about 20-40 people with an intermediary between the owner and the paperwork that provided the funds. Intermediaries were usually wealthy Flemish or Dutch merchants whose task was to bring a revolving line in advance. The required amount was about 1,000 crowns per tub and it was called a cabal (Churchill, 1967, pp. 21-23).

Among the Dutch traders settled in Anjoule, Abraham Janssen was the special one, because he owned a paper mill in Puy-Moyen and Nerrisac. He also hired Jean Villedary. As a wealthy and influential person he has been authorized to use some symbols in filigree, including the addition of a crown to the watermark of a jester.



**Fig. 2.** Filigree *Pro Patria* with Abraham Janssen's initials. Source: W.A. Churchill: *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France etc. in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and Their Interconnection*, Amsterdam 1967

One of the Dutch signs *Pro Patria*, showing Magdalene the Dutch within a circular fence or palisade, derives from the old English term paper-size *foolscap - Britain* (Labarre, Loeber, 1952, p. 346). The *Pro Patria* sign was created to commemorate the Dutch liberation fight against the Spanish occupiers in 1581, which saved seven northern provinces and established an independent state. The female figure symbolizes the rule of the sea while the lion's arrows are the symbol of the united provinces.

The expansion and technological advancement of Dutch papers in the eighteenth century is evidenced by many attempts of copying their watermarks. The French often imitated filigree and Dutch paper in the eighteenth century. This may be justified by the fact that the paper industry in France was falling, and the Dutch were leading paper manufacturers and distributors (Stelling-Michaud, 1959, p. 28).

German mills do not have such explanation. They were established much earlier than those in the Netherlands. Dutch paper and trademarks of leading companies were copied in Württemberg and Bavaria. For example, paper mill of Bocking brothers from Bavaria was proud of its paper used for printing official government documents. This paper had a watermark, copied from the *pro Patria* paper of the Dutch paper mill Golden Beehive Zaandyk (Churchill, 1967, p. 21-22).

On the Polish paper market filigree called conventional were occasionally used. They were used to mark native products. The paper with the sign of *Pro patria* and its characteristic drawings and initials of paper manufacturer were used by Jan Rasch from the paper mill in Soczewka (Dąbrowski, Siniarska-Czaplicka, 1991, s.382-392).

A paper mill founded in Gransholm in 1790 in the south of Sweden, used *Pro Patria* filigree with its own name, and on another paper from Sweden a sign with the name of Van der Ley can be found. This imitation has visible differences from the traditional drawing and some mistakes in the lettering.

Nowadays victorious lion is still the coat of arms of the Kingdom of the Netherlands (Weiss, 1986, pp. 74-75), and filigree with the Dutch lion with sword and javelin has been common since 1660. It is usually situated on an oval shield with a crown on top. Later, the sword was often replaced by a spear with a hat of freedom at the end and the word *Vryheit*. In addition, the oval shell was often replaced by the wreath.

However, the form with a frame was used in the eighteenth century both in the Netherlands itself and on the paper produced for the English market without the word *Vryheit*. Lion standing on the back legs with the crown, but without a shield is found on paper printed in the Italian outbuildings at the end of the eighteenth century. Its slender form could have suggested a leopard rather than a lion, but the name indicates that the creature meant the lion (Labarre, Loeber, 1952, p. 356).





R B & C

**Fig. 3.** Filigree *Pro Patria* made by Bocking Brothers. Source: W.A. Churchill: *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France etc. in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and Their Interconnection*, Amsterdam 1967



**Fig. 4.** Filigree *Dutch lion* from B. Cramer's mill from 1711. Source: from the author's collection

By the end of the eighteenth century, there were a lot of types and sizes of paper and its use was not so common. The types of paper used did not have any specific dimensional and qualitative standards.

Taking the conditions of the times into consideration, it is obvious that manufacturers and traders could not make supplies for a long time. This is fully documented for the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century, when paper marking dates were rather common, especially in France and England. After checking the dates located on paper and paper usage dates, it turns out that the life of the mark was amazingly short, less than two or three years in the case of standard sizes.

This can be the conclusion after studying more than a hundred examples from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Another evidence that the duration of a sign was short is a very rare repetition in every large collection of watermarks.

By the end of the eighteenth century when papermaking was dominated by the Englishman with J. Whatman, paper dating became a common practice. From 1794 paper manufacturers started marking the date of production with a watermark or with large numbers under the name of the manufacturer or with smaller numbers in the corner of the sheet on plain paper (Labarre, Loeber, 1952, pp. 357-360). The end of the magic of handmade paper produc-

tion came because of significant changes in the technology of its production, replacing the existing raw material with wood pulp. It took place in the early nineteenth century. Since then, paper production ceased to be handicraft, losing the charm of independent creation with the inseparable participation of the master manufacturer.

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**Leonard Ogierman**

***Phenomenon of Pro Patria paper expansion***

**Abstract**

Filigrees were trademarks of a paper manufacturer. At the beginning of the paper industry filigrees presented animals such as bulls, dogs, eagles, as well as initials, religious symbols and later arms of famous noble and royal families and arms of countries. Since the sixteenth century, the filigrees also began to mean the type and the size of the paper and to show the paper quality. In the eighteenth century, Filigran Pro Patria was used by Dutch paper makers and proved the high quality of the product. Lots of attempts to imitate the Dutch papers' watermarks can be the evidence of their expansion and technological advancement

**Key words:** Pro Patria, filigree, paper industry, history of paper

**Leonard Ogierman**

***Fenomen ekspansji papieru klasy Pro Patria***

**Streszczenie**

Filigran stanowił znak firmowy wytwórcy papieru. W początkach rozwoju papiernictwa filigrany przedstawiały zwierzęta: byki, psy, orły, inicjały, symbole religijne a w późniejszym okresie herby znanych rodzin szlacheckich, królewskich czy herby państw. Od XVI w. filigrany zaczęły oznaczać także gatunek i format papieru i świadczyć czy papier jest wysokiej czy niskiej jakości. W XVIII w. filigran *Pro Patria* był wykorzystywany przez holenderskich wytwórców papieru i świadczył o wysokiej jakości produktu. O ekspansji i technologicznym postępie papierów holenderskich. świadczą liczne próby imitacji ich znaków wodnych.

**Słowa kluczowe:** filigran Pro Patria, papiernictwo, historia papieru